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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : EE - Mr. Leverich

DATE: January 8, 1959

FROM : EE - Mr. Sutterlin *SS*

SUBJECT: Some Ideas on the Berlin Situation.

I have been giving some thought to possible initiatives which we might undertake within the framework of the current Berlin crisis and have developed some ideas which I thought it might be useful to outline to you. In approaching the problem I am assuming that the Soviets, in replying to Western notes on Berlin, will reject the idea of discussing Berlin as part of Four Power negotiations on the general German problem. My thinking, moreover, has been generally influenced by two considerations which I believe are reflected in the ideas which I am setting forth. These considerations are 1) that the strategic necessity involved in the continuing integration of West Germany into NATO and in the further build up in West Germany's armament is such that at this particular moment we would not be in a position to enter into serious negotiations with the Soviets which would result in a limitation on Germany's military force and its withdrawal from the Western defense community; and 2) that we should not reject entirely all thought of the establishment of some kind of eventual relationship between East and West German authorities which might some day lead to a kind of confederation or all German Government which would not necessarily, in the initial state, be based strictly on all German free elections.

To elucidate a bit further on these two considerations let me add that in my own mind I can reach no judgment on the first one since the necessary information concerning military and strategic questions is simply not available to me. I do not mean, however, to imply that I think this is not the time to consider possible negotiations on a future status for Germany different from the present status of West Germany. Concerning the second let me make clear that I am not advocating recognition of the East German regime or of the East Berlin regime as such. At the same time I feel that in the long run some kind of contact and negotiations between the East and West Germans of a more extensive nature than that which already exists is inevitable; and that, moreover, our position in West Germany and in West Berlin are both so strong at the present time that we have no reason to fear the results of negotiations between the West and the East Germans. (I realize that the problem of recognition arises here but for the moment I would like to leave

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which are contained in the following

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My proposal then is the following:

On receipt of a Soviet note rejecting the idea of Four Power negotiations on the German question I would suggest that our reply be framed along the following lines:

I. We regret that the Soviet Union is not prepared at the present time to discuss means of bringing about the reunification of Germany. In view of the history of our endeavors to bring about such beneficial negotiations, however, we are not surprised and we do not believe, in view of the negative Soviet position, that it will further either the reduction of international tension or the eventual reunification of Germany for us to dwell further on it at this point. Rather we would propose now to concentrate on Berlin which we agree constitutes a problem in itself. We do not agree with the manner in which the Soviet Union has defined this problem, however. Rather we consider that the problem of Berlin is essentially the problem of Germany in miniature -- i.e., a divided entity whose separate parts are developing in accordance with different social and political concepts which, as the years pass, complicate rather than facilitate its eventual reunification. At the same time the problems of Berlin are simpler and more conducive to solution within the framework of present world tensions than are those of Germany as a whole. We believe, moreover, that since in fact striking similarity exists between the problem of Berlin and the problem of Germany we may by concentrating on the smaller problem be able to work out solutions which will serve later not only as encouragement but actually as models in steps undertaken to bring about the reunification of Germany.

II. Practical Steps to Reintegrate Berlin's divided parts.

There are in Berlin a number of steps which we believe can be taken with relative ease in the immediate future and others which can be taken more gradually which will serve materially to reduce the division which now exists in the city. We therefore propose that the Four Powers encourage the municipal authorities in East and West Berlin to undertake immediate negotiations to rejoin the severed telephone system and reintegrate the transportation and utility systems as well as the other municipal services which presently function on a separate basis. If such essentially technical services can successfully be reintegrated, we would propose that under the authority of the Four Powers the municipal authorities of Berlin mutually explore the establishment of an all Berlin executive body under which during a transitional period such essential all Berlin bodies as the police force, bank institutions, public health authorities, et cetera could work in cooperation so that their functions could be handled on a uniform basis throughout the city. And finally that if progress is encouraging on these projects that the municipal authorities again under the sponsorship of the Four Powers explore possible ways for the creation of an all Berlin municipal Government which would be representative of the wishes of the Berlin population.

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III. Berlin as the capital of Germany. Berlin remains in the minds of most Germans the capital city of Germany. Indeed at the present time the principal administrative organs of East Germany and a number of important administrative organs of West Germany are located in the city. We believe that the establishment of all major administrative bodies both of East and West Germany in Berlin would not only recognize the general will of the people but facilitate eventual negotiations leading toward the reestablishment of Berlin as the capital of a reunified Germany. We therefore would propose with the clearance of the West German Government that the capital of West Germany be moved from Bonn to Berlin so that even in the interim period when Germany itself remains divided the basic organs of Government can be located in a city whose unity is developing. It could not be expected, of course, that the capital of West Germany could be moved to Berlin unless there were more adequate access facilities than presently exist. We therefore suggest that the Four Powers meet at a mutually convenient date to agree upon a guaranteed system of access sufficiently broad to make possible the move of the Federal Republic's capital.

IV. Berlin as an occupied city. The Soviet Union has repeatedly referred to the necessity of ending the occupation of Berlin. For our part we have long since ceased to regard our presence in Berlin as that of an occupying force. We remain there on the basis of clear legal rights, not for the purpose of occupying the city but rather to preserve its security. We recognize, however, that if the municipal authorities of Berlin are able to make significant progress toward the reintegration of the city that the essentially administrative remnants of a former period, such as the military sector organizations and the Allied Kommandatura, could become an unwelcome hindrance. We therefore suggest that in the coming months, while Berlin municipal authorities are themselves engaged in efforts to reintegrate the two sections of Berlin, the Four Powers through their representatives in Berlin, meet to discuss the elimination of such bodies. The Four Powers would then be in position to present and discuss with an all Berlin Government, when such is formed, proposals for a revised status of the Four Power representation which will remain in Berlin until such time as the city would resume its traditional position as capital of a unified German state.

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